

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 11196

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS:PARM
SUBJECT: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER SEMENOV'S PLENARY
STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 29, 1977 (SALT TWO-1513)

BEGIN TEXT.

- SEMENOV STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 29, 1977

- I

AS YOU KNOW, IN THE CONTEXT OF CONSIDERING THE LIMITA-
TIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, BEING ESTABLISHED IN
THE DOCUMENT UNDER NEGOTIATION, THE DELEGATIONS HAVE
RECENTLY GIVEN MUCH ATTENTION TO DISCUSSING HOW TO REACH
AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II OF THE PROTO-
COL--ON BANNING NEW TYPES OF ICBMS AND SLBMS.

THE PROPOSALS AND CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED IN THIS
CONNECTION WERE STUDIED.

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TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION
UNDER CONSIDERATION AND GUIDED BY THE DESIRE TO REACH
AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW
TREATY AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL
ACCEPTABILITY AND OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL
SECURITY, THE USSR DELEGATION IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO

TABLE THE FOLLOWING NEW PROPOSALS FOR ARTICLE II OF THE
PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY.

- "ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL

1. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST NEW
TYPES OF ICBMS OR DEPLOY SUCH NEW TYPES OF ICBMS, EXCEPT
THAT EACH PARTY MAY FLIGHT-TEST AND DEPLOY ONE NEW TYPE
OF ICBM EQUIPPED WITH A SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLE.

2. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST NEW
TYPES OF SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS OR DEPLOY SUCH NEW
TYPES OF SLBMS, EXCEPT THAT EACH PARTY MAY FLIGHT-TEST
AND DEPLOY ONE SUCH NEW TYPE OF SLBM."

- "AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT NEW TYPES OF ICBMS AND SLBMS
EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS OR SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLES INCLUDE
ALL TYPES OF SUCH ICBMS AND SLBMS, THE FLIGHT-TESTING OF
WHICH WAS INITIATED AFTER 1976."

- "AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE II
OF THE PROTOCOL

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT ONE NEW TYPE OF SLBM, REFERRED
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TO IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE II, THAT EACH PARTY MAY
FLIGHT-TEST AND DEPLOY IS: FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOC-
IALIST REPUBLICS, THE RSM-52 SLBM; FOR THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, THE TRIDENT C-4 SLBM."

I ALSO HAVE TO CLARIFY THAT IN BANNING THE EQUIPPING
OF NEW TYPES OF ICBMS WITH INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-
ENTRY VEHICLES WE ALSO MEAN A BAN ON INSTALLING THEREON
THE SELF-CONTAINED DISPENSING MECHANISMS OR OTHER ASSEM-
BLIES, MENTIONED IN THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II,
PAR. 5, OF THE TREATY, AN AGREED STATEMENT ON WHICH THERE
IS AGREEMENT.

THE SOVIET SIDE ALSO PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT
THE PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT NEW TYPES OF ICBMS AND
SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS OR WITH SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLES
INCLUDE ALL TYPES OF SUCH ICBMS AND SLBMS, THE FLIGHT-
TESTING OF WHICH WAS INITIATED AFTER 1976, DOES NOT AFFECT
MODERNIZATION OR REPLACEMENT OF EXISTING TYPES OF ICBMS
AND SLBMS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE X OF THE JOINT DRAFT
TEXT OF THE TREATY, AN ARTICLE WHICH IS AGREED.

THE PROPOSALS AND CONSIDERATIONS THE USSR DELEGATION

HAS SET FORTH TODAY CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND, WE ARE CONVINCED, MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION FOR ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL IN ITS ENTIRETY.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE PROPOSALS IT HAS TABLED FOR ARTICLE II OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY WILL BE CAREFULLY STUDIED BY THE U.S. SIDE.

- II

REDUCTION OF THE 2,400 AGGREGATE NUMBER BEING ESTABLISHED FOR THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS BEING LIM-
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ITED, AS WELL AS THE DATE FOR INITIATION OF AND THE TIME

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PERIODS FOR SUCH REDUCTION HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS. THIS QUESTION IS GOVERNED BY THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE III AND ARTICLE XI OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

THE PROPOSALS TABLED SHOW THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT ALREADY DURING THE TERM OF THE TREATY BEING NEGOTIATED THE OVER-

ALL AGGREGATE LEVEL OF STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES WILL BE REDUCED. BOTH SIDES ALSO PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT IN PRACTICE SUCH REDUCTION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT WITHIN A DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME. THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT SPECIFIC PROCEDURES RELATED TO REDUCING THE AGGREGATE LEVEL OF DELIVERY VEHICLES WOULD BE WORKED OUT IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE XVIII, SUBPAR. 2(E).

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE USSR DELEGATION IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO REAFFIRM THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSAL ON ASSUMING A MUTUAL OBLIGATION TO LIMIT THE RELEVANT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1981 TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 2,250.

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PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION ALSO REAFFIRMS THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSAL THAT DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD BE IN EXCESS OF THE 2,250 NUMBER BEING ESTABLISHED, WHICH IS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE III, PAR. 2, MUST BE COMPLETED NOT LATER THAN 18 MONTHS FROM JANUARY 1, 1981.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THESE SPECIFIC SOVIET PROPOSALS ON REDUCING THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LEVEL ALREADY DURING THE TERM OF THE TREATY CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD THE POSITION OF THE U.S. SIDE ON THIS QUESTION.

THEY ARE BASED ON THE RESULTS OF A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE WHOLE TOTALITY OF FACTORS DETERMINING THE STRATEGIC SITUATION AND ARE AIMED AT ENSURING STRICT EMBODIMENT IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE DOCUMENT BEING NEGOTIATED OF THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY, EQUAL SECURITY AND INADMISSIBILITY OF ACQUIRING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER.

THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSALS ON THIS SCORE ARE BASED ON THE NEED TO ESTABLISH FIRMLY IN THE NEW TREATY THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BALANCE OF INTERESTS OF THE SIDES IN THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AS THAT BALANCE IS EVOLVING AT PRESENT AND IN ITS DYNAMICS--FOR THE ENTIRE TERM OF THE DOCUMENT BEING PREPARED.

THE TIME PERIODS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE FOR REDUCING THE 2,400 AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVEL BY 150--NOT LATER THAN 18 MONTHS FROM JANUARY 1, 1981--ARE BASED ON THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN THE AREA UNDER CONSIDERATION AND, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EXPERIENCE

OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF 1972, WHICH
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SHOWS THAT THE QUESTIONS UNDER DISCUSSION HERE INVOLVE
GENUINE PROBLEMS WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED.

INDEED, PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT THE ACTIVITIES INVOLVED IN DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, PROVIDED FOR IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, REQUIRE A GREAT DEAL OF WORK. THIS MUST ALSO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN WORKING OUT THE CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS OF THE NEW TREATY.

THUS, THE SCOPE AND TIME PERIODS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE FOR REDUCTION ALREADY DURING THE TERM OF THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT OF THE AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVEL OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS BEING LIMITED ENSURE THAT THE OBLIGATION BEING ASSUMED IN THIS CONNECTION CAN BE CARRIED OUT, PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY KIND OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS OR AMBIGUITIES, AND ARE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS WE HAVE SET FORTH TODAY ON THE QUESTION OF REDUCING THE 2,400 AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVEL OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WILL ALSO BE CAREFULLY STUDIED BY THE U.S. SIDE. EARLE

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